631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Tarabine, Aïtoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[669] During the revolt, they left the Ägouh-en-Tehlé in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaiddin pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the aménokal.

[162] To the Relaiddin must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin.

[674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others. Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The

[423] territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and

[712] defined by monoliths, some of which bear tifinagh characters.

The Ibettenaten. -- The Ibettenaten are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazera, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the

[651] aménokal.

The Ibettenaten probably descended from Kel Afella Iföra on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but
162 they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Adrar des Iföras, following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadet camp in Aïr.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning
233 no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

302 751 Men and women make rings around their eyes with kohl; they put it not only on the eyebrows, but especially at the roots of the eyelashes. They do this for medical purposes, for they attribute [164] to kohl the ability to protect them against eye maladies, in particular against ophthalmia which strikes many of them.

[826] The Tuareg appreciate the long, narrow hands of people who do no manual labor. They do not take any particular [412] care of them and are [53] satisfied merely to cut [212] their nails rather short. As they do for hair, they bury the scraps so that no one can take them.

Fig. 36. Hairdressing knife, bearing the name of the artisan who made it in tifinagh characters.

304 [171] Tattooing. -- Make-up. -- Unlike the Kabyle and the Berbers, the Tuareg are not tattooed. This detail, which may seem insignificant, nevertheless indicates that the relationship of these different human groups is not nearly as close as one might believe, since there are such appreciable differences in mores.

184 304 Some women blue their gums and sometimes their lips by tattooing them, but this custom is particularly prevalent in the Sudanese tribes of the Timbuktu region.

302 [751] [517] On the other hand, make-up is used on a large scale among Tuareg women. They put red ocher on their faces to protect the skin from the /260/ sun. For aesthetic reasons they also blue their lips and around their mouths with indigo.

304 852 Circumcision. -- Boys are circumcised at the age of three or four, usually by a marabout. Circumcision (amoud, amilli, or azemmoued) is not the occasion for any festivity and is practiced collectively. The contusing instrument used is a little knife with [412 302] an iron blade, used by the men as a razor. During the healing period the child rests in his parents' camp and is cared for by them.

[171] Little girls are not excised as they are among the Moors of Tagant and Hodh.

291 855 [556] Children go around naked until they are five or six years old, depending on the wealth or the foresight of their parents. Little girls wear a loincloth at the age of six or seven, while boys wear trousers of the same style as the men.

861 Education. -- Children's education begins after weaning. From that time on the boy passes under the control of his father, while the girl stays in her mother's hands. This education is hardly complicated for either the boy or girl.

868 857 [462] The little boy, from the age of five, takes care of watching the goats and sheep by himself. Later he is entrusted with the camels, which he leads to pasture and to drink. He is also taught how to milk goats, for among the Tuareg, men, as a rule, take charge of this job. Toward the age of seven he begins to ride camels. Then fights with sabers or lances are organized in the form of games between children of the same age, arms being replaced by millet stems or tree branches. This is not a part of education properly speaking, since it is done by the children themselves.

868 869 [212] Religious education is rather neglected among the Ahaggar Tuareg where marabouts are scarce. When there is a marabout in a camp, he teaches children and young people the rudiments of the Koran, which they learn by heart by singing it all day long, for they are ignorant of Arabic writing.

881 [145] 291 [431] /287/ The litham /veil/ is put on the boy at fifteen or sixteen when the hair begins to appear in his armpits. It is put on by the father, most often at the time of Ramadan. There is no additional ceremony for the occasion. The father gives his son some good advice, and young women and girls give him tobacco as a gift.

881 From this day on the boy enters into the class of men. He
884 may go to war and attend the ahal.

868 Education of girls is hardly more interesting. At six or seven, the little girl begins to see to household duties, participating in cleaning the tent and making meals, etc. A little later she learns to weave mats, work little copper articles, and spin goat hair.

534 Musical and literary education for young girls is very much esteemed among the Tuareg and
212 most particularly among the Imochar. Little girls learn to write tifinagh letters and play the amzad, a sort of small one-stringed violin which brightens up the dull evenings of the Tuareg.

Fig. 53. Amzad, or one-stringed violin of Ahaggar Tuareg women, and its bow.

534 The amzad is made
237 of half a hollowed-out and dried gourd, over which a goatskin or uran /lizard/ skin has been stretched, attached by cords (in the Ahaggar) or little acacia thorns (in the Aïr). The skin is pierced by one or two holes to increase the resonance. The handle is made of a stick which penetrates into one side of the gourd through a hole and is secured at the other side by a point, or else it may go through that side too. The string is formed of several pieces of horsehair separated from the skin by a little bridge made of two small pieces of wood tied together crosswise. The bow (taganhé) forms an arc with

771 They are little versed in the religion and are incapable of reading the Koran, with the exception of a few men among the Taïtok, [743] for example, or in the Sudanese tribe of the Kel es Souq. There ●212 are very few marabouts among them, and those who are there, with a few exceptions, live there in a spirit more mercenary than anything else. Among the Tuareg there are no imam or mufti, and [346] /305/ mosques are reduced to simple prayer places formed of an alignment of stones.

[781] Many Tuareg do not follow the prescriptions of the Koran, and a few years ago some chiefs relied on the marabouts "to make their prayers for them!" Those who practice do it ostentatiously.
795 A great number are affiliated with religious orders, but they are
175 usually ignorant of the meaning of the rites. Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the brotherhood of the Tijaniyyah was powerful among them. The majority of the people that the explorer Foureau met during his voyages in the Tassili were members, but he points out that there were also a few Qādiriyyah. Chief In Guéddassen and a certain number of nobles of the Ghat region were Senusi /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. So long as the Oulad Sidi Cheikh, who were the most important groups of the Tijaniyyah, fought France, the majority of the Tuareg remained attached to that brotherhood, but afterwards many of them adopted Senusism. The principal representatives of the Tijaniyyah in Tuareg country were the Tassili Ifora, whose zāwiyah of Témaçinine had been founded by one of them, El Hadj el Foki. His son Moussa acquired very great renown as a holy man, and so his tomb, located near the little palm grove, is honored by all the northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg of the Adrar des Iforas are affiliated with the Qādiriyyah and received the ouerd from Cheikh Bay, a former Kounta marabout from Teleya; he died a few years ago, and his renown extends over the whole Sahara. Among the Ioullimmiden, some tribes are Qādiriyyah (Kel es Souq) and others Tijaniyyah (Daoussahak).

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵃⴰⵇ ⵏⵉ ⵜⵉⴼⵉⵏⴰⵔ ⵓ ⵜⴰⵙⴰⵡⴰⵜ,

ⵜⴰⵏ ⵓ ⵏⵍⴰ ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵃⴰⵇ, ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵔⵜ

The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth Ch.* 2, *Verse* 17)

"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

4: Benhazera--vii G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

TAMASHEK ALPHABET

104
212

Method of Transcription Adopted

Forms of the Letters	Names	Value	Arabic Equivalents	Observations
ⵄ	t'arerit	A I OU	ا و ي	
ⴱ ⴱ ⴱ ⴱ	ieb	B	ب	
ⵜ	iet	T	ت	
ⵊ	iej	J	ج	With the Kel Rela
ⵅ ⵅ	iekh	KH	خ	Spanish J
ⴷ ⴷ ⴷ ⴷ	ied	D	د	
ⵣ	iez	Z (soft)	between ز and ج	
ⵔ ⵔ	ier	R	ر	
ⵙ ⵙ	ies	S	س	
ⵛ	iech	CH	ش	
ⴹ	iedh	DH	ض	
ⵟ ⴹ	iedht (iett)	TT	ط	
ⵥ	iezz	Z' or ZZ	between ز and ظ	
ⵖ	ier'	R'	غ	(1)

(1) The transcription by R' is preferable to that by GH, which is generally used. In fact it is best to write R'adamès, R'ardaïa

104
212

Forms of the Letters	Names	Value	Arabic Equivalents	Observations
ⵂ ⵑ ⵀ	ief	F	ف	
ⵇ	ieq	Q	ق	
ⴽ	iek	K	ك	
ⵍ	iel	L	ل	
ⵎ	iemm	M	م	
ⵏ	ienn	N	ن	
ⵀ	ieh	H (aspirate)	ه	
ⵓ	ieou	OU	و	
ⵢ ⵉ ⵢ	iey	Y	ي	
ⵊ	iej	j	ج	Among the Taïtoq
ⵖ	iegue	Gu (before e, i); G (before a, o, u)	ڤ	
ⵊ̌	iedj	Dj	between ج and ڤ	Special pronunciation

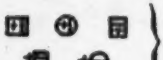
Radamès and Rardaïa, than to write Ghadamès and Ghardaïa and pronounce Gadamès and Gardaïa. The first transcription is closer to the true pronunciation.

Note: The Arab ح (H') has no equivalent in Tamashek. The Tuareg always pronounce it KH (خ). Thus they say Mokhammed for Mohammed; El Khadj for El Hadj.

The Arabic ع (âa) no longer has an equivalent in Tamashek. The Tuareg always pronounce it R' (غ). Thus they say R'ali for Ali; br'ir for bâïr. /xix/

COMPOSITE LETTERS

104
212

Forms	Names	Value	Arabic Equivalents
	iebt	bt	بت
	iejt	jt	جت
	iert	rt	رت
	ieft	ft	فت
	iemt	mt	مت
	iecht	cht	شت
	iennt	nt	نت
	ielt	lt	لت
	iest	st	ست
	iezzt	zt	زت
	iennb	nb	نب
	iennd	nd	ند
	ienngue	ng	نڭ
	ienn	nn	نن
	iennk	nk	نك

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

Extending the seat there are four small bars, E, one at each corner. Finally, there are four other small perpendicular bars F on the seat.

In order to mount, with the camel kneeling, the woman takes the bridle in her hands and sits on the bare withers of the camel (in the place where the man's saddle rests) and, in this position, her legs on the neck of the mehari, she makes it get up. When the animal is standing, the woman places both hands on the two small front bars, E, of the saddle, and, with a slight adjustment, she sits in the saddle, her legs hanging on the withers of the camel.

The top of the saddle is generally covered with a /42/ haïk which is fastened to the four perpendicular bars F, so that the woman is sitting in a sort of hammock.

This saddle is called "tekhaouit" ⵜⵅⴰⵡⵉⵜ . The de luxe saddle, more decorated, is called "araguen" ⵉⵖⴰⴷ .

Chapter XX

Education

One cannot say that the knowledge of reading and writing "tifinagh," or symbols for the Tamashek language, is a proof of education, for this knowledge does not have any practical use.

The Tuareg very seldom use the symbols for their language, and use them largely for little inscriptions of no great significance (of a kind which we will see later) on boulders or on the inside of arm bracelets.

When there are letters to be written, they have them written in Arabic, for they fear, with reason, being misunderstood if they should write them in "tifinagh." In fact,

because of the lack of vowels, the "tifinagh" are guessed rather than read, and this system of writing has remained quite primitive. 212

However, among the Ahaggar Tuareg some know how to read and write Arabic, especially the Issoqqamaren, almost all [177 191]

[291 643]

The Amenokal Sidi ag Keradji Reading the Address of a Letter Sent to Him.

of whom understand Arabic because of their frequent relations with the Tidikelt, where they must have lived for a long time (1). It is the same for the Ta'ltoq and the Kel Ahnet, many

1. See section on history /not translated/.

of whom speak Arabic. /43/

Knowledge of the "tifinagh" is rather a diversion for the Tuareg than a useful study. They like to try to decipher inscriptions or to show you, on the sand, the exact orthography of a word.

11. "Djer mouhaden, " that is, "between prayers, " because it comes between the feasts. It corresponds to Zu'lkadah. 805

12. "Tafaski, " that is, "the sacrifice. " It corresponds to Zu'lhijjah, in which the feast called "Aïd el Kebir, " also called by the Arabs "Aïd el Adha" عيد الأضحى , or "feast of sacrifices, " takes place. [177]

There is no book in Tamashek, at least that is what was told me. However, the secretary of the amenokal Moussa /46/ ag Amastane informed me that there was, at the Ahaggar, a book written in the Tamashek language, but with Arabic characters, which was the translation of a work on law of which Ibn Achir was the author (1). 177 213

1. This book is at present in the possession of someone called Salakh ag Meguemmed of the Isoqqamaren. /47/

Part Two

The Tuareg in their Public Life

Chapter I

Nobles and Imr'ad

Duveyrier has described so well the characteristics which distinguish a noble from an amr'id (1) that I think it 114 565

1. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, pages 331 to 335.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

on the Air Tuareg. I wish to express my sincere thanks to the above mentioned foundations and their directors. 122

For the transcription of Tuareg letters I have on the whole adopted Foucauld's system (cf. Foucauld 1920 & 1951–52):- 104 212

Tuareg Letters (*Tifinaf*)	Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters		Notes
ⵓ	b	ب	
ⵛ	ch	ش	
ⴷ	d	د	
ⴹ	ḍ	ض	Emphatic
ⴼ	f	ف	
ⴳ	g		Hard
ⵖ	ǧ		A peculiar soft pronunciation something between g, d, j, and l.
ⵀ	h	ه	Aspirated
ⵉ	i	ي	Used both as consonant and vowel at the end of a word. At the beginning and in the middle of a word only as consonant.
ⵊ	j		
ⴽ	k	ك	
ⵍ	l	ل	
ⵎ	m	م	
ⵏ	n	ن	
ⵔ	r	ر	
ⵚ	ṣ	ص	
ⵙ	s	س	
ⵜ	t	ت	
ⵟ	ṭ	ط	
ⵡ	ou	و	Consonant or vowel as for i mentioned above
ⵅ	kh	خ	Foucauld 1951–52 has the transcription ẖ [114]
ⵣ	z	ز	
ⵥ	ẓ	ظ	Foucauld 1920 does not mention this letter [114]
ⵄ	'	ع	

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

Tuareg Letters (*Tifinagh*)	Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters		Notes
ⵖ	ɣ	غ	Prononcunced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in literature.
ⵙ	s	س	
ⵜ	t	ت	
ⵟ	ṭ	ط	Emphatic
ⵣ	z	ز	
ⵥ	ẓ		Emphatic

For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that of the maps edited by Institut Géographique National. The pronunciation of vowels is not indicated. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel.

Pastoral Ecology in Ahaggar and Air.

The Tuareg of the true desert country have their camps in or close to mountain massifs of which the more important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Geographically these two regions have many traits in common. In Ahaggar, which rises to 3000 metres above sea level, the annual precipitation according to official statistics is between 20 mm and 40 mm. These figures are extremely low, but more characteristic of the desert country is the irregularity of the rainfalls. In some years there may fall no rain at all, while in others precipitation is much bigger than appears from the figures above. Several dry years may follow each other alternating with periods of abundant rainfall. According to investigations by Dubiéf four years out of ten are so dry that rainfall is of no importance for the regeneration of pastures (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23). Owing to the scarcity and the fluctuations of precipitation in Ahaggar a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions which are flooded during heavy rain. In the valleys perennial plants comprise not only grasses and herbs but also tall trees among which tamarisk and acacia are prominent. In dry years the perennial plants have little value as fodder for the domestic animals of the Tuareg. A great many goats may then die from hunger, and to avoid such a disaster some Tuareg take their flocks to the plains of Tamesna or to the Adrar-n-Iforas Mountains where rain is normally more plentiful and grazing better than in Ahaggar. However, even in dry years the majority of Ahaggar Tuareg will remain in their native country with their goat-flocks. For although they run the risk of losing a great many goats during a drought in Ahaggar

172 /37 cont./ Many chipped stones have been found in the Ahaggar, indicating an early occupation of the region, but nearly all of the objects have been found on the surface, preventing the establishment of a chronology. However, Acheulian axes have been discovered by M. Arambourg in a basin of the Tihodaine erg beneath undisturbed sediments, with fossilized elephant bones. The In-Guezzam basin has also furnished paleolithic tools in association with fossilized bones. Objects of neolithic make are, in general, scattered on the ground.

/38/ Arrowheads are very rare. The most numerous tools are polished, two-edged axes; they are found in all sizes; some very small ones are made of very soft stone, and perhaps were used for money. Magnificent polished pestles, varying in length from 15 to 70 centimeters, are still sometimes used by the Negroes. Also to be found are polishing tools, fixed grindstones, scrapers, and the debris of pottery with linear decorations.

Some interesting information is furnished by the rock engravings. One may say that the Ahaggar is covered with them. At the present time, nearly 120 sites are known, and there are certainly others to be discovered; on the other hand, rock paintings are infrequent.

An examination of the engravings shows a succession of periods. The oldest are characterized by the presence of fauna found in humid steppe regions: elephants, lions, ostriches, giraffes, antelopes, bovids, horses. The most recent are identified by the presence of camels, asses, and crude line drawings of men.

[532 ●212] Contemporary engravings, accompanied by inscriptions in tifinagh, are easily recognizable, for the legends may be translated.

The rarity of paintings in the Ahaggar is explained by the almost total absence of caves permitting their preservation. Those that have been discovered were found in sheltered places

114 /60 cont./ It would be impossible to praise too highly the work of the "hermit of the Ahaggar," for it has in a sense illuminated a civilization for history.

• 212 194 /61/ The peculiarity of Tamashek as a Berber language is that it can be written with its own characters, which are called "tifinagh."

There are 25 tifinagh characters, to which must be added compound letters formed by the combination of two simple elements.

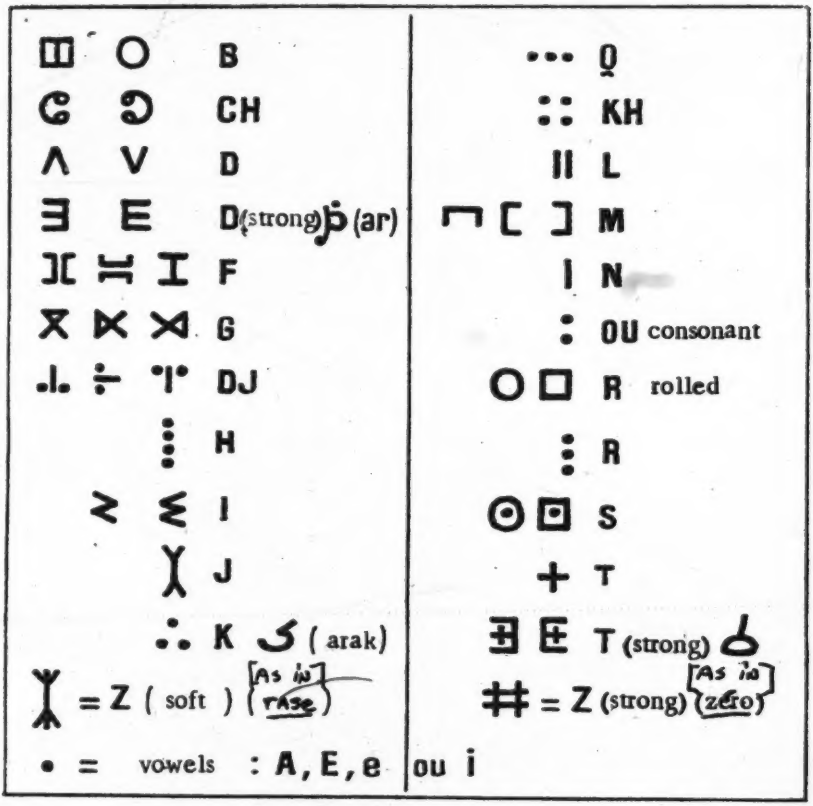
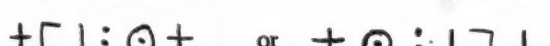


Table of tifinagh letters.

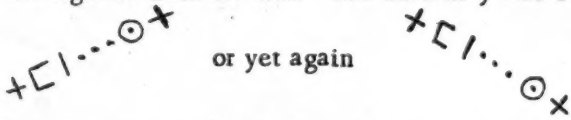
212
194 /61 cont./ Each letter represents a consonant of the language; a single sign at the end of a word indicates the vowel element. To write a word, all that need be done is to write its consonants one after the other, without attaching them to each other, in any direction one pleases, from left to right or from right to left, from top to bottom or else from bottom to top, according to the fancy of the writer. Some letters, such as the M, the G, or the strong D, indicate the direction of the writing.

All written letters are pronounced, with very rare exceptions.

Here is "Tamanrasset" written in tifinagh characters:



The way the prongs of the M point indicate whether to read from the right or from the left. The word may also be written:



One may easily imagine that this writing without vowels is rather hard to read; it is necessary, in fact, to insert the vowels in their proper places as one reads. It is always an amusing sight to see a Targui deciphering tifinagh script; he mumbles to himself as he spells out each letter of a word until, /62/ saying it aloud, he identifies the word, realizes its meaning, and finally pronounces it with evident satisfaction.

Iété..é. é, émmé.éé., énné.. é ., IèR... éssé..é.é. éTT.
This permits him to decipher: Tamanrasset.

This system of spelling makes reading a text a long and complicated process, for one must remember the words that have been deciphered in order to reconstruct the sentence, otherwise one must begin all over again. A thorough knowledge of the language is indispensable for being able to place the vowels correctly and for avoiding misreadings.

191 /62 cont./ In spite of this difficulty in transcription, the Tuareg amuse themselves by transposing the letters in a word, making it utterly incomprehensible for the uninitiated.

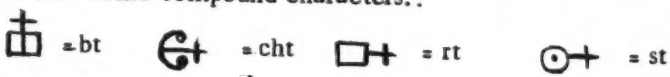
[177] At the present time Tamashek is borrowing many words from Arabic and French. Father de Foucauld had already noticed during his time this invasion of Arabic and the way the Tuareg adapted numerous words to their own speech habits.

• [212] In the noble tribes, each individual knows how to read and write, but that is not the case with the imrads, for many of the vassals barely know how to write their names.

The richness of the spoken language is greatly declining due to bilingualism and doubtless also because poetry, formerly inspired by the exploits of the warriors, tends to disappear. One may thus realize the importance of Father de Foucauld's work, which permanently recorded a language of oral tradition.

There will certainly come a day when the Tuareg will have to use French to perfect themselves in their own language.

NOTE: Some compound characters.:

[212]  = bt = cht = rt = st

/63/

II
Economy

Generalizations on the Economy of the Ahaggar

241 A country such as the one we have seen in the study of the physical characteristics of the Ahaggar, possessing very limited resources because of the scarcity of water and the poverty of the soil, can only have an agriculture of small and uncertain productivity.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

212
291

45. The public scribe.

[p. 233]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

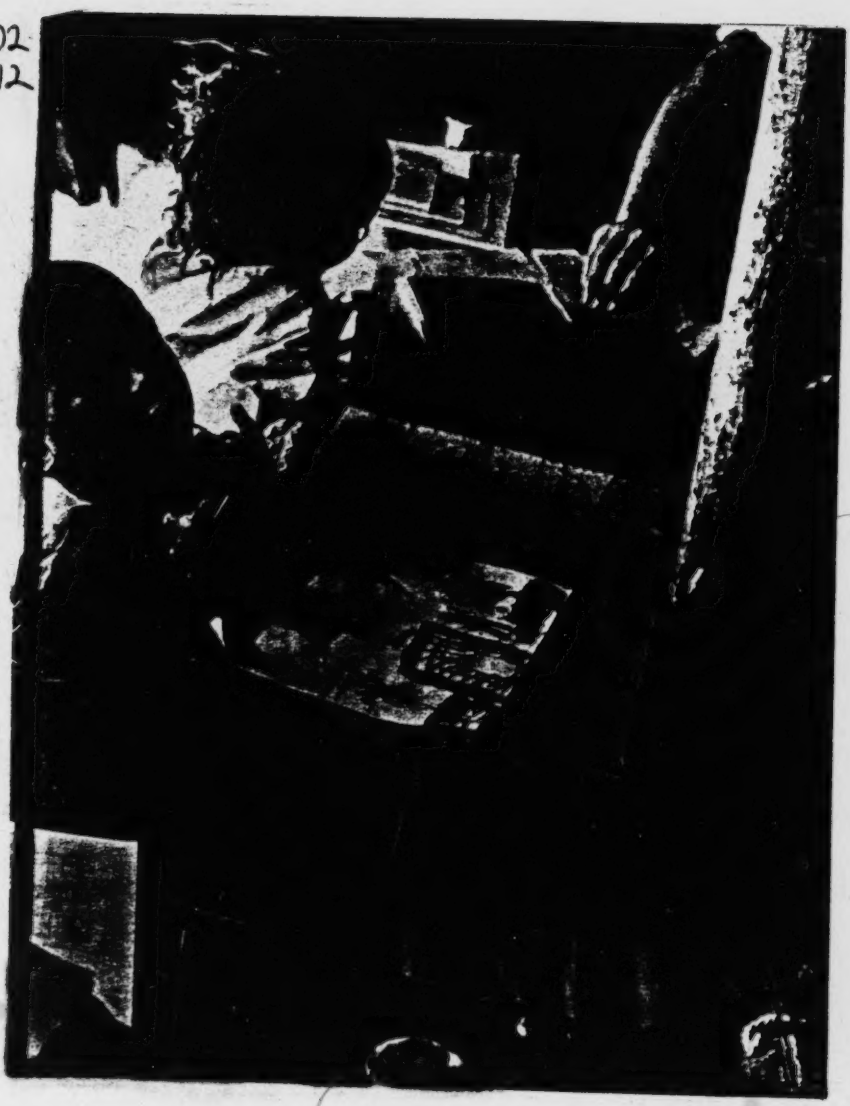
872
2.12

55a. Nomadic school in the camp of the amenokal.

[p. 244] [left - see p. 245]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

872
212



55b. [p. 245] [Right - see p. 244]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

tion into Ayr many Tuareg of that region emigrated, and some of them settled as far away as Darfur where they and their descendants still live near El Fasher. Another emigration took place after the Tuareg revolt against the French in 1917. Many Tuareg of the *Kel Ayr* and the *Iwllemmeden* fled to Northern Nigeria to settle in villages and towns around Kano and Katsena. According to Rodd about 30.000 Ayr Tuareg fled to Nigeria after the revolt (Rodd 1926a, p. 361).

According to statistics for the period 1933–38 the total number of Tuareg living in the Algerian Sahara and to the south in the republics of Niger and Soudan is estimated by Lhote to be about 240.000. They were divided among the main groups as follows:—

Kel Ahaggar	4.254
Kel Ajjer	1.508
Kel Adrar	4.223
Kel Ayr & Kel Geres	27.765
Iwllemmeden	161.160
Tengerregif	40.000

These figures need certain corrections. Thus the *Kel Ajjer* are more numerous than indicated by the above figure, which does not include Tuareg of that group living in Libya. On the other hand the figure for *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg is much too high; it includes about 94.000 negroid slaves which should be deducted, as slaves are not included in the other figures. Nevertheless, Lhote believes that the actual number of free Tuareg is about 300.000 as the birth rate is on the increase. Thus statistics for 1950 indicate that there are 4.611 fairskinned Tuareg in Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 157). Nicolas assumes that there are about 500.000 Sudanese Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. Avertissement). This figure is, no doubt, too high. If we assume that there are in all 300.000 Tuareg, we find that the two northern groups *Kel Ajjer & Kel Ahaggar* living in the true desert country constitute about three per cent of the total Tuareg population.*

The Tuareg language is known as *tamahaq* in the two northern groups, *tamacheq* in the south. It has four main branches or dialects, namely 1) *tahaggart* spoken by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*; 2) *tadraq* spoken by the Tuareg of *Adrar-n-Foras*; 3) *tayrt* spoken by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*; 4) *tawllemmet* spoken by the *Iwllemmeden* and other Sudanese Tuareg. Grammatically these four dialects are closely related, but there are important distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary. The dialects are on the whole mutually intelligible.

The alphabet known as *tifinar* is known in all Tuareg groups. It is related to the ancient Libyan script. Several authors have stated that *tifinar* is not so widely known among the modern Tuareg as it was in the past. It is true that certain Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arabic alphabet, but it is very difficult even nowadays to find adult Tuareg who do not know their proper script which is also widely used for letters. This, anyway, is true of the Tuareg groups I have visited, and it must be added that I have never found any proof of the statement so frequently seen in literature that the alphabet is

* Considering the statistics for 1933–38 (240.000 ÷ 94.000) the total number of true Tuareg in 1950 would appear to be lower than 300.000.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

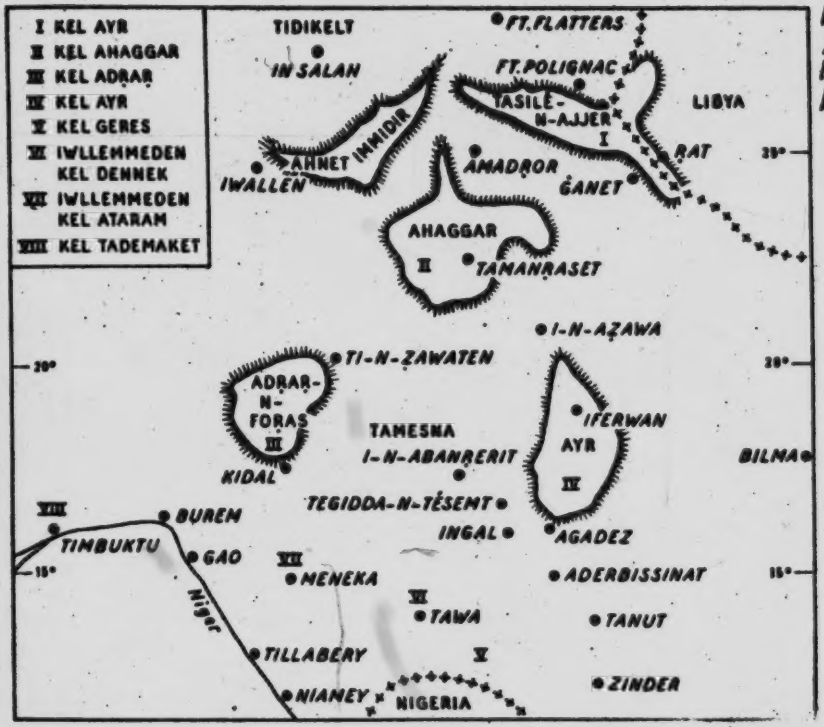


Fig. 1. Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups, as mentioned in the text, are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. The *Kel Tademaket* Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 125 kilometres.

known and used particularly by women. There are slight distinctions in the characters of the alphabet used by various Tuareg groups. I here reproduce the characters generally used in Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and in Ayr. In transcribing *tifinar* into the Roman alphabet I have on the whole adopted the system used by Foucauld who has made the most profound studies of the northern dialect (Foucauld 1918-20, 1920, 1925-30, 1940, 1951-52), but certain alterations have been made in agreement with the proposal of K.-G. Prasse. The Ayr dialect is very badly known. Its grammar and its peculiar vocabulary has never been studied.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

The true Tuareg in most groups fall into several classes as follows:—

Ihaggaren (sing. *Ahaggar*), or *Imajeṛen* (sing. *Amajeṛ*). These two words designate the supreme Tuareg class which is generally referred to in literature as "nobility". The term *Ihaggaren* is used only among the Northern Tuareg, while *Imajeṛen* is employed in Ayr and also among Sudanese Tuareg. The two terms are synonymous, and so-called noble Tuareg are found in most Tuareg groups. However, the *Kel Geres* employ the term *Imajeṛen* for all true Tuareg. Among the *Kel Adrar* certain tribes claim to be noble, but though these tribes have very much the same position as noble tribes in Ahaggar and in Ayr, they are not recognized as true noble Tuareg by people of other groups.

Ineslemen (sing. *Aneslem*). This class is that of *Mrabetin* or marabuts, the religious class established after the introduction of Islam. In most Tuareg groups there are whole tribes of *Ineslemen* under the leadership of their own chiefs, but in Ahaggar there are only a few scattered families. The political position of the *Ineslemen* varies greatly from one group to another. Certain tribes in Ayr which are *Ineslemen* by origin have the same status as the true vassals to be mentioned below, while other *Ineslemen* tribes like the *Iforas* of the *Kel Ajjer* have much the same status as noble Tuareg with the exception that they have no vassals. The *Ineslemen* perform religious duties connected with certain rites of passage. Any Tuareg can acquire the position of *Aneslem* after training in reading the Koran and education in the divine laws under the tutorship of another *Aneslem* or marabut.

Echchikhen (sing. *Echchikh*). This word also refers to people of religious status, and is used almost synonymously with *Ineslemen*. Certain tribes of Ayr (Damergu) have a kind of noble status and possess vassals. The word does not have the meaning of *Echcherifen* (sing. *Echcherif*), which refers to descendants of the Prophet. Individual Tuareg families – particularly in noble tribes – often claim relationship with the Prophet.

Isekkemaren (sing. *Asekkemar*). A class which is found only in the two northern groups – particularly among the *Kel Ahaggar*. The *Isekkemaren* Tuareg descend from Arabs, or from unions between Arab men and Tuareg women. They are vassals who have a somewhat different status from that of true vassals, who are mentioned below.

Iregenaten (sing. *Aregenat*). This name is not always applied to people of a particular class. It is used as a proper name for one Ahaggar tribe which has its origin from mixed marriages between (noble) Tuareg women and Arabs. In most groups the term *Iregenaten* (*Iregenaten*) is applied to Tuareg descending from unions between noble Tuareg men and vassal women.

Fig. 2. The Tuareg alphabet (*tifinar*). The distinctions between Tuareg alphabets of Ahaggar and Ayr are less essential than appears from this list, for some differences are due to the fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg for certain letters prefer an edged form, the Ayr Tuareg a curved one. But both forms are known to all Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg normally write from the right to the left like the Arabs, while the Ayr Tuareg consider it correct to write the letters in vertical rows from bottom to top. It can be seen from the list that the Ahaggar Tuareg have an alphabet of 25 consonants while the Ayr Tuareg have only 21. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel. This simple vowel letter is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tiṛerit*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *tiremkit*. The dialect of the Ayr Tuareg is very little known and most Ayr words mentioned in this study have never been published previously. Even my collection of Ahaggar words seems to contain terms lacking in Foucauld's dictionaries. For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that generally used for geographical maps.

[text continues on p. 12]

212
104
184

Ahaggar	Ayr	Transcription and value in Arabic letters	Notes
yeb	eb	b ب	
yech	ech	ch ش	
yed	ed	d د	
yeḍ		ḍ ض	Emphatic
yer	er	r ف	
yeg	eg	g	Hard
yeǧ		ǧ	A peculiar soft pronunciation something between g, d, j, and i
yeh	eh	h ه	Aspirated
yey	ey	y (i) ى	Used both as consonant and vowel at the end of a word. At the beginning and in the middle of a word only as consonant
yej	ej	j	
yek	ek	k ك	
yeḳ	eḳ	ḳ ق	
yekh	ekh	kh خ	Foucauld 1951-52 has the transcription ḵ
yel	el	l ل	
yem	em	m م	
yen	en	n ن	
yeñ		ñ	
yew	ew	w (u) و	Consonant or vowel as her i mentioned above
yer	er	r ر	
yeṛ	eṛ	ṛ غ	Pronounced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in litterature
yes	es	s س	
yet	et	t ت	
yeṭ		ṭ ط	Emphatic
	et'	t'	Palatized t
yez	ez	z ز	
yeẓ		ẓ	Emphatic

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

174 the regions now inhabited by the Tuareg is very clearly schown by the excellent study made by Lhote on rock engravings and paintings of horse-drawn waggons and carts in the Sahara (Lhote 1953a). For it is demonstrated by Lhote that though these pictures may show a resemblance to Egyptian carts and harnesses they are more particularly related to those of Ancient Greece, which is also intimated by the artistic style and the occurrence of spiral motives. The most excellent representations of horse-drawn carts have been found in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but pictures are also known from the Fezzan around the ancient city of Garama, in Ahaggar, Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, and in parts of Mauretania. Further east in the Sahara, in Ayr and in Tibesti, no cart pictures have so far been found. Lhote thinks it possible that horse-drawn carts may have been used on a route connecting the ancient city of Garama with the city of Tademaket (Es Suk) in Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, though he admits that the mere representation of carts in rock pictures does not necessarily prove that they were used in regions where such pictures are found. For rock pictures representing carts may also be found in mountainous regions where cart-driving has no doubt been impossible, though the cart used by the ancient people of the Sahara was probably a light one (Lhote 1953a, p. 1138–1228).

It would be natural to investigate how far this *Old Mediterranean Culture* has influenced Tuareg culture. We may then perhaps assume that Tuareg alphabet (*tifinaṛ*) is a so-called *Old Mediterranean* element though it has not yet been exactly shown to which other alphabet *tifinaṛ* is most directly related (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 174 ff.). It is more difficult still to prove other cultural traits among modern Tuareg to be Old Mediterranean. One might suppose that a high culture of North Africa with a centre of gravity in the Syrtic region would also have influenced the ancestors of the Tuareg in regard to dress and weapons. It is of some interest to note that the bi-triangular persons depicted in Ancient Crete are also characteristic of the rock-engravings in the Sahara, whether associated with carts or not. Rodd has stated as his opinion that there is a close relationship between these bi-triangular figures in rock engravings and the leather shirt of poncho type still used by isolated tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg (Rodd 1938, p. 101 ff.). But, as pointed out by Lhote, there is no obvious reason to connect this ancient type of dress with Mediterranean civilizations, and the dress worn by persons depicted during the cart-period does not correspond to any definite type (cf. Lhote 1953a, p. 1148 ff.).

It would not be unnatural to expect that Tuareg culture would have adopted the sword from the Old Mediterranean culture which, we know, was found in North Africa long before the advent of Islam. But while spear warriors mounted on camels and horses are frequently depicted in ancient rock-engravings there seem to be little evidence of the ancient use of the sword (cf. Huard 1960, p. 144). Many theories have been advanced about the origin in Africa of the sword with a cross-like hilt (cf. Ankermann 1905, p. 60; Schilde 1929, p. 172; Murray 1935, p. 101). These authors give various explanations, but they all believe that the sword was introduced comparatively recently. Gsell states that the sword was not common among North African Berbers until the 6th century A.D., and he believes that the particular Tuareg sword with a cross-like hilt was introduced to the Sahara from Spain with the Almoravides during the 11th century A.D. (Gsell 1920–28, VI, p. 44 f.). Baumann asigns the sword to the so-called Young Sudanese Culture, to which complex Tuareg armdaggers are credited by Lagercrantz (cf. Lagercrantz 1938a; 1950; p. 206 ff.). The developed techniques of leatherwork and skin-dyeing are perhaps to be considered Old Mediterranean rather than Young Sudanese?